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For God's sake — there's a lady present!

No lady—or man or child, for that matter—should have to witness the gutter gaieties sponsored by the nation's leadership today. Witness the A-bomb experiments in Nevada, sending radio-active clouds to the four winds; the Justice Dept. (see right) trying to scrape the muck off its witnesses; a legislative committee in New York (see p. 9) trying to make sure that persecuted Americans will get no defense at all. And that 50% Congress pay rise! Lady, close your eyes.

WAR & PEACE

SEATO parley a 'farce'— nobody'll die for Chiang

By Kumer Goshal

SECY. DULLES was back last week from a whip-round of poverty-stricken S.E. Asian countries. It had mainly served to highlight their peoples' lack of enthusiasm for Washington's brand of "free world aid," and its attempt to line them up behind Chiang. In that context the mustering of weak, corrupt Pakistan and Thailand as the only mainland Asian countries foregathered with Western powers for the S.E. Asian Treaty Alliance conference was embarrassing to press commentators.

At the conference, Bangkok—under the eye of former ambassador to Guatemala Peurifoy—was picked as SEATO's headquarters; no economic aid was forthcoming for the three Asian members; chief stress was placed on SEATO's job to fight "subversives" with the aid of "a top-flight [U.S.] security man, presumably someone from the FBI" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 2/25). NYHT's Homer Bigart said the conference had worked out "a permanent SEATO which will have no muscle and no pocket book"; the York (Pa.) **Gazette** called it a "farce"; Dulles expressed satisfaction.

RELUCTANT DANCERS: Throughout S.E. Asia Washington's attempts to win a ring of "free world" friends by military "partnerships," without any move to end their peoples' poverty, continued to crumble. C. L. Sulzberger (N.Y. **Times**, 2/26) said Dulles' "ultimate plan" was to tie all the U.S. pacts in the Pacific area "into a neat bundle," bringing Japan into SEATO and into a pact with Chiang and S. Korea.

But there were "basic difficulties." All SEATO members balked at Dulles' efforts to link them with defense of Chiang. In Japan's Feb. 27 elections, all political parties had campaigned on a platform of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and China. The tally gave Premier Hatoyama's party 185 seats, the party of more pro-U.S. ex-Premier Yoshida 112 (a serious slump), right- and left-wing Socialists 156, the Communists 2. Hatoyama said that proposed moves to amend the MacArthur constitution, which renounces war, must now be deferred "for some time" since he could not command the necessary ⅔ majority in the 467-seat parliament. Japan, Sulzberger noted,

> ". . . displays remarkable reluctance to rearm. . . . [Although] we pay the piper and therefore feel entitled to call the strategic tune . . . we can't make everybody dance."

TIGHTROPE: Dulles also visited:

- Cold-war-neutral BURMA's Premier U Nu, who relayed to him a proposal from China to discuss with an unofficial U.S. mission the case of the imprisoned U.S. flyers;
- LAOS, French Indo-China, where the government has been conferring with leaders of the Pathet Lao liberation movement formerly co-operating with the Vietminh. Dulles proposed U.S. training of Laotian officers, but said the price of military aid was that Laos get rid of "domestic subversives."

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THE INFORMER RACKET

Matusow's publishers urge Congress probe of the Justice Dept.

By Lawrence Emery

SINCE late January, when Harvey Matusow placed on public record under oath his confession that he lied deliberately and habitually during his career as a government informer, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been straining to prove that Matusow was truthful then, is lying now. Last week Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, publishers of Matusow's forthcoming book **False Witness**, made another effort to have the inquiry broadened. They sent each member of the Senate an advance copy with a letter suggesting "a thorough investigation of all facts relating to the book and its disclosures . . . by some governmental body other than the Dept. of Justice, which is itself seriously implicated in some of Matusow's charges."

The publishers pointed out:

> "In connection with his activities as a paid government witness, Matusow has made affidavits to the effect that he gave false testimony under oath at two Federal trials. According to one of Matusow's affidavits, he was coached to testify falsely by Asst. U.S. Atty. Roy Cohn. Matusow's book also recounts other of his operations in the service of the Justice Dept."

SUGGESTIONS: The letter cited as a precedent for such an investigation the Senate Select Committee probe in 1924 "into the activities of Atty. Gen. Harry M. Daugherty and malpractices in the Justice Dept. under his direction."

Herblock in Washington Post

In addition, the publishers made several recommendations to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which has questioned them both in closed sessions. They suggested that the committee compile a record of all government agents and officials who had

(Continued on Page 6)

THAILAND'S YOUNGER SET GREETING UNCLE JOHN: PANTS WERE WORN
Before John Foster Dulles arrived in Bangkok for the SEATO conference, the N.Y. Herald Tribune reported, sound trucks toured the streets blaring: "No naked children allowed on the streets this week. Thieves! Pickpockets! Please stay inside this week." In Rangoon, Burma, to which Dulles later got a "vague" (self-solicited) invitation from Premier U Nu, there was "a handful of persons" to meet him; when he flew on to Laos, "the local general was rabbit hunting" and officials "tried frantically to round up even a corporal's guard. On board the plane word was passed that the runway was blocked by water buffalo. . . . The King stayed in the royal capital."

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THE MAIL BAG

No more Matusows

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Following are excerpts of a letter I wrote to Atty. Gen. Brownell on the Matusow case:

"We regard our Justice Dept. and our court system as guided by the principle of justice and truth, upholding the legal rights of all defendants regardless of politics, and we would like to continue so regarding it.

"Yet one cannot avoid the inference that Government authorities, and your office in particular, would be condoning such perjury to obtain a conviction if action is not taken to undo the harm done by such false testimony by habitual perjurers and prevent its victimizing other persons in the future.

"As a taxpayer and one interested in the just functioning of our Government and courts, I urge toward this end:

"1. That the entire matter and record of professional paid witnesess and informers be investigated as to their conduct in past trials and committee hearings.

"2. That Government departments and Congressional committees cease the practice of maintaining and using a staff of professional paid witnesses and political informers." Frank Kondray

Once upon a time . . .

WILMINGTON, CALIF.

In recent years Harvey Matusow made a living as a paid witness for the government and writing children's stories.

Both endeavors, it turns out, dealt in fantasy. Nita Narr

Hey, Whittaker!

TONASKET, WASH.

Believe the tide is turning. Some professional informers are being proved to be professional liars, and some of the Matusow ilk are even confessing their lies and sins. Been wondering when Whittaker Chambers will come through with his confession re Hiss frame-up. He could write another $5 book and make another half million if he would come clean.

J. Parkhurst Douglass
American Farm Science Assn.

How crazy can you get dept.

BANGKOK—Thailand is conducting an "anti-red" campaign. According to local press reports the Prime Minister, Marshal Pibul Songgram, has ordered letter headings on Government notepaper to be changed from red to black. . . . New buildings are to have green and not red tiles on their roofs.

But the Governor of the Bank of Thailand is not going to change the colour of Thailand's bank notes from red to green. "They are not very red," he said.

—Reuters dispatch in Sunday Gleaner, Jamaica, B. W. I., Feb. 6.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Ann Cooper, New Hyde Park, N. Y.

A hobby for Chiang

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Recently in the neighborhood toy stores I noticed on sale a set of plastic ships, planes and locomotives. Our magnanimous leaders in Washington must have gotten wind of this for they are distributing larger war-type replicas of the same to Chiang Kai-shek, who has a peculiar fondness for such "toys." This bigger bang for Chiang foreign policy can lead to no good. If Chiang would like to play with ships and planes he ought to retire from public life and concentrate his attention on the plastic variety. I, for one, would be glad to help him start such a hobby.

Steven Levine

Jacob Mindel's life

BRONX, N. Y.

On Jan. 11 my husband, Jacob Mindel, started serving a two-year term in prison under the Smith Act. He is nearly 74 and has a serious heart ailment and complicated digestive troubles. He has been compelled to lead a very quiet life since 1948.

When he went to jail, his doctor's affidavit stated: "In view of his age, chronic progressive heart disease and chronic stomach disease, the drastic change from his care at home to prison environment and continued incarceration will be hazardous to his life."

As his wife, who took constant care of him, I know only too well that it may prove fatal.

The disclosures by Harvey Matusow make it clear that perjured testimony has been used in obtaining convictions of innocent persons now in prison. Matusow appeared as a witness for the Government in the trial in which my husband was one of the defendants. Now he swears he lied on the witness stand. As you know, two U. S. Supreme Court Justices, Mr. Black and Mr. Douglas, have expressed grave misgivings on constitutional grounds about convictions under the Smith Act.

I am confident that the truth will prevail, in time. But time is not on the side of my husband.

I appeal to you as a person concerned with human decency and kindness to urge upon Atty. Gen. Brownell that he recommend that my husband's sentence be reduced to the time already served, and thus give him a chance to live. The Smith Act does not demand the death penalty.

Will you address a letter to Mr. Brownell in care of the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C. And may I ask you to send me a copy?

(Mrs.) Rebecca Mindel
2854 Bronx Park E.
New York 67, N. Y.

Gerson's position

NEW YORK, N. Y.

May I correct the record of your account of the discussion between John T. McManus and myself as published in Feb. 28 GUARDIAN?

1) I did not say that "the formation of a farmer-labor party would be the key to resistance" to war and fascism. The position of the Communist Party is that the united resistance to war and fascism can and must be organized NOW—without waiting for the formation of a new party. Our party holds that precisely out of today's united struggles for peace, democracy, labor's rights and civil rights will emerge tomorrow's new political formation—a labor-farmer party.

2) The story might leave the impression that my party has no position when both major parties offer reactionary candidates. My opening text specifically stated that we supported the present ALP policy "to run candidates where and when no alternative between reactionary candidates exists."

S. W. Gerson

Lancaster in Daily Epress, London

"What I say is, if the defense of Formosa involves a good-will visit from Madame Chiang, I'm against it!"

Welcome, Mrs. Cotton

GLASGOW, MONT.

I received a copy of your newspaper from some unknown source and feel I should support your type of paper. I would like to get it regularly. I have stopped subscribing to the leading magazines because they so consistently give us farm people a slap in the face.

I learned more from one issue of your paper (Jan. 10, '55) than I could have learned from many years reading Life and Look. Thank you for the service to the people.

Mrs. Charles W. Cotton

Julius Rosenstein

HONOLULU, HAWAII

My dear husband, Julius Rosenstein, passed away on Jan. 19 after several weeks of illness. I would like all of you to know how much he loved the GUARDIAN and the fine work you are all doing. We contributed all we could to your noble efforts and have felt a real part of the GUARDIAN family. I am enclosing a check in memory of him and know it will be put to good use.

My husband was 88 and his passing was without suffering of any kind. He was gentleness personified and life with him was an inspiration. He sometimes said wistfully that he wished he could live to see a socialist America, which he was confident was coming. Adele Rosenstein

At his death, the Honolulu Record carried many columns of tributes to Mr. Rosenstein as a "friend of labor," "advocate of progress" and "interpreter of Hawaii." A noted sculptor, Julius Rosenstein had been a resident of Honolulu since 1899. He made death masks of Queen Liliuokalani and Prince Kuhio and carved the statue of the Prince which stands in Kukio Park, Kaual. In July, 1953, he pledged $75,000 in property to provide bail for Hawaiian Smith Act victims.—Ed.

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REPORT TO READERS

What's cooking?

ARE YOUR ACTIVITIES NEWS FOR THE GUARDIAN? If so, are you sending us reports? Are things going on in your community that GUARDIAN readers elsewhere might like to know about? If so, there is generally only one way we can get the facts—through you.

Don't take it for granted (unless you know positively) that some other reader is keeping us filled in; he probably isn't. Our weekly mail is one of the best batches in the business, but as you can see from the accompanying Mailbag columns, few letters deal with local news.

Here's a case in point: at a recent New York meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, some 500 people were very interested to hear tell of a one-man battle being waged by a 60-year-old carpenter in Birmingham, Ala., against that city's "subversive" registration ordinance. The authorities, searching a rooming-house for quite other reasons, found in his room some books they decided were "subversive." The culprit they were searching for got away, of course, but the carpenter was taken in for failing to register as a subversive.

His lawyer said he ought to plead guilty and register, but the 60-yead-old libertarian said: "I'm goin' in there and read 'em the Bill of Rights."

Anyway, it was a fight which some Birmingham people thought needed support, so they sent some of the details to the ECLC's Clark Foreman, whose activities they had read about in the GUARDIAN.

WELL, WE THINK THAT'S JUST FINE, but while you readers in Birmingham were about it, why didn't you send the details of this case to the GUARDIAN? (And if we've got the facts mixed, or if you think all of us might like to know the outcome of this fracas, why not send us a full report right now?)

No news is bad news—from our point of view, at least. It means (a) that there is nothing going on in your part of the world on the peace, jobs, rights and liberties front; or (b) that you're not concerned enough to write us about it.

WE BELIEVE THAT the tide of reaction is turning and the people are beginning to reclaim their democratic heritage on all sorts of levels. So we want news of attacks in your locality upon civil rights and liberties, on labor and housing and rent situations—but above all we want news of how people, any kinds of people, are getting together to defeat them. If the problem your group or community faced was solved, others want to know how you solved it. The big news services rarely report such things. If your local papers do, that's a head-start for you; just send us the clippings with a covering memo. And don't forget to follow up. We need newspaper cartoons too.

In short, keep in touch! —THE EDITORS

P.S.: Keep others in touch, too. Make sure your friends are reading the GUARDIAN. Handy introductory sub coupon just across the page.

The Nowak case

DETROIT, MICH.

If you doubt that truth is stranger than fiction, your doubt may be shaken when you read **The Strange Trial of Stanley Nowak**, by Conrad Komorowski. On trial is a man whose life has been devoted to championing the right of the working people on the picketline, on the public platform, in the halls of the legislature.

It is strange indeed to the cherished traditions of America that our laws should countenance proceedings aimed at these traditions. How do they go about it? With witnesses, of course. Who are they? What do they say?

Often have I felt, after participating in the trial of a case: if only the public could know what was revealed in that trial! Well, here is a book that tells you, with direct quotations from the witnesses, the attorneys and the judge. It is sold for $1 by the Stanley Nowak Defense Committee, 39 Massachusetts, Detroit 3, Mich.

Maurice Sugar

Maurice Sugar is a well-known labor and civil liberties lawyer. —Ed.

What in the world is going on?

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HOW ECONOMIC ROYALISTS CREATE STAGNANT WORLD MARKET

Debunking the myth of 'perpetual prosperity' for America

Earlier articles in this series (GUARDIAN, 1/10, 24, 31) showed that behind Washington's stress on "competitive co-existence," Asian "aid" projects, etc., is U. S. big business' growing need to export capital as fat investment opportunities begin to dry up at home. Foreign investment for profit was demonstrated to be a system whereby advanced capitalist countries drain the wealth of undeveloped countries and block their industrialization. The solution to undeveloped countries' problems was shown to lie not in money itself—whether in the form of private investment, loans, gifts, etc.—but in economic and social organization.

By Tabitha Petran

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS after the onset of the Great Depression, U S. capitalists claim to have found the key to "perpetual prosperity." Such prosperity, in their view, does not preclude recessions and unemployment, the rise and fall of stock markets, disappointments and setbacks of the business cycle—phenomena from which they usually suffer little. But it does rule out major economic collapse, and presupposes what **Business Week** (1/1) called "a great age of expansion led by the U. S." Behind the so-called New Optimism, **BW** found (2/5) "a strengthening faith that the expanding U. S. economy will be able to overcome its own problems and those of the free world."

Central to this faith is a conception of the undeveloped countries—¾ of the "free world"—as a vast and ready market for American goods and capital exports; their 1.2 billion inhabitants as so many "prospective customers."

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Yes, Sultan — they do sell baseball players in the U. S., but not movie actresses!"

STRANGLED BY SYSTEM: This modern mythology has won wide currency, influencing even some progressive thinking. The reality is that undeveloped countries do not constitute such a market, nor their inhabitants, such prospective customers. Great as their needs may be, they lack the means to buy, and economic organization to support, great imports of American goods. The very system of foreign investment for profit, which is now looked upon as the "key" to avert economic collapse in the U. S., has strangled the potential markets of these countries.

For foreign investment for profit disrupts old economic relations, destroys the prevailing internal markets in undeveloped countries; and—because it drives for monopolized preserves for the foreign capitalist—blocks economic expansion, hence the development of new internal markets.

STUCK ECONOMIES: In 1940 William Brandt wrote an article[1] brilliantly forecasting post-World War II developments in China and reviewing the state of countries where foreign investment has disintegrated the old economy, making it too narrow for the population's subsistence, and prevented the development of a new internal market. He described such countries as "stuck at the stage of transition" between pre-capitalism and capitalism. Since foreign capitalism constantly tries to step up the rate of tribute, their economic status sooner or later becomes insupportable. Under these circumstances their peoples more and more look to anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution to effect industrialization (develop the internal market).

Undeveloped countries "stuck at the stage of transition"—unable to industrialize—have not been integrated into the world market. They pay economic tribute to the advanced countries (GUARDIAN, 1/17), and may serve as dumping grounds for farm and other surpluses; but they provide no expansion of the world market. History shows, furthermore, that their progressive impoverishment under this enormously lucrative system of tribute cannot be continued indefinitely.

CAPITALISTS' DILEMMA: On the other hand, if a country does make the transition to the level of capitalism, it begins to suffer—from the viewpoint of foreign capitalists—from "too high a degree of industrialization:"[2] too high, that is, for the profitability of foreign investment. The gap between the undeveloped and the advanced country is narrowed, the possibility of economic tribute therefore reduced, and its lure for foreign investors dimmed.

Economic royalists are caught in this basic contradiction. Expansion of the world market is necessary to their system since it is in the nature of capitalism to produce on a continually expanding scale. Such expansion requires expansion of the internal markets of undeveloped countries. This, in turn, requires increased productivity, hence their industrialization. Capital export could effect such industrialization only if it were so huge—**and done in such a way**—as to lift the undeveloped country's economy from semi-feudalism to capitalism. But if this were done, its products would begin to compete with those of the advanced country, and profit rates would be lowered for the foreign capitalists.

NO ALTERNATIVE: In the abstract, the foreign capitalists would appear to have a choice of these alternatives:

1) To protect their rate of profit by assuring control over the undeveloped country's economy of a type which prevents industrialization;

2) To aid these countries' industrialization so that their internal markets will expand—this, in the hope that even with a lower profit rate, the total volume of profits will increase.

But, in fact, only the first "alternative" is consistent with the nature of monopoly, with the way monopolies operate. Therefore the economic royalists operate, in reality, according to the first and this prevents the second—that is, industrialization.

In the modern world, industrialization—in this sense of developing the internal market—is the necessary basis for national independence. Under these circumstances, it is hampered and hindered until national independence is achieved. In fact, it can be accomplished only under conditions of national independence and abolition of the system of economic tribute.

Los Angeles Daily News

NOT A PRETTY PICTURE!

THE WATERSHED: The 1929 crisis forms an historical watershed in the relations of advanced to industrially backward countries. During the depression years, capital export virtually ceased, reflecting: 1) disintegration of the advanced countries' internal markets and their inability to expand the internal markets of undeveloped countries; 2) the fact that the world's undeveloped areas were mapped, scanned, divided among the great powers and offered no new fields of tribute. Capital export has never regained the role it played in the earlier period.

After World War II, U.S. economic royalists directed their huge accumulations of capital largely into armaments. They sought to compensate for the relatively small amount of capital export to undeveloped areas by stepping up the rate of tribute[3]; by militarizing capital exports as in the Korean War; and by establishing control over—in order to exact economic tribute from—weaker capitalist economies, principally the metropolitan countries of W. Europe. This latter was a primary objective of the huge foreign aid program.

STAGNANT SATELLITES: One of its results was to block a number of capitalist W. European countries from turning toward socialism. The peoples of these countries had emerged from the war determined to make the social and economic changes necessary to avert another such catastrophe and permit economic expansion. As foreign investment for profit tends to freeze undeveloped countries "at the stage of transition" between pre-capitalism and capitalism, so the U.S. economic royalists' drive for monopolistic advantages in weaker capitalist countries froze a number of them "at the stage of transition" from capitalism to socialism. That is, prevented them from breaking through the barriers of capitalism to begin socialist development. This paralysis of their economies permitted their reduction to semi-satellite, dependent status. Prime examples of such "stuck" countries are France and Italy where economic stagnation has been a permanent phenomenon for 25 years.

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Try a new pair of specs, Bud!"

France's internal market is contracting. Its iron production is below that of 1913; steel production barely at, and manufacturing production below, the 1929 level.[4] French industry is operating at roughly 70% of capacity, although at least 15% of that capacity is engaged in arms production. Real wages are but half of pre-war; agricultural income has shrunk in the past decade.

France's political instability—its present government is the 21st since the war—mirrors the weakness of French capitalism, kept in power only by virtue of U. S. domination, and its inability to govern. Ex-Premier Mendes-France's economic reform program, touted as a step toward restoration of French capitalism's power, barely scratched the surface. Yet even such a program could not be implemented. French economic expansion needs basic social and economic reform which U.S. economic royalists desperately seek to prevent. To a greater or lesser degree, a number of other "free world" countries are in the same fix.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"He's trying to invent a clock that makes time stand still. . . . Figures he's got a ready market with the reactionaries in the world."

SELF-MADE CRISIS: Crucial for the U.S. program for W. Europe (to exact tribute and block the road to socialism) was the development of W. Germany as the pivot of its military and control plans. This required putting W. Germany back on its feet economically, with the result that it became competitive not only with W. European countries but with the U.S. This has contributed to the intensified competition for markets, not expansion of markets.

Thus, U.S. economic royalists may dream of "an age of expansion"—but the reality their system and its restrictive policies have created is a stagnant world market, which will disintegrate. They may annex this or that country to their system of economic tribute; for example, the new Turkey-Iraq "defense" pact—pulling Iraq out of the Arab League and tying it to the Greece-Turkey-Iran-Pakistan satellite grouping—is a major victory over British interests. But they will not in so doing expand the world market.

Growth is not something for the future; it must begin now. But in terms of immediate realities the lack of expansion in the world market indicates that there is no perspective in that market for averting economic crisis. Future articles will discuss the socialist world market, and the meaning for the U.S. of these economic realities.

1 "U.S., China and the World Market," Pacific Affairs, Vol. 8, No. 3.
2 Sir A. Salter, director of League of Nations Econ. and Finance Sec., 1922-31.
3 In Latin America, for example, the rate of profit on U.S. investments rose from 6% in 1929 to 14.9% in 1949, 16.8% in 1950, 20.5% in 1951. Whereas in the 1925-29 period U.S. investors yearly collected $100 million more from Latin America than they invested, in 1952 they collected $336 million more than they invested.—"Foreign Capital in Latin America," UN Report, 1955.
4 "Growth and Stagnation of European Economy," UN Report, Geneva, 1954.

Free world vignettes

Even given the Asian standards, Thailand stands out like a stinking mackerel in the moonlight. . . . Corruption in Thailand is not furtive or chaotic. It is clean, orderly, methodical. . . . That society is beginning to stir. There are many signs of ferment. There is a restless movement of population from the villages to the cities, including the sailor boys who push the pedicabs on the streets of Bangkok, and the girls from the villages who come to make money in the brothels and may stay to marry. . . . Several trained psychiatrists have emerged at Bangkok to treat the psychotics that come with every society in transition.

—Max Lerner reporting on his Asian tour, N.Y. Post, Feb. 17.

WM. A. REUBEN'S THREE-YEAR EFFORT

'The Atom Spy Hoax'

By John T. McManus

THREE YEARS AGO—after his brilliant expose in the GUARDIAN (Aug.-Dec. 1951) of the injustice to the Rosenbergs had launched a worldwide campaign in their behalf—William A. Reuben began a one-man search into the circumstances behind the case. The search led back and further back, through all the cases linked to the purported Rosenberg-Greenglass-Gold spy plot and before it—through the Hiss and Coplon cases, the innumerable "atom-spy rings" of the Rankins, Parnell Thomases et al, to the Canadian case of 1946 and the beginnings of the Cold War.

The result of this three-year effort is **The Atom Spy Hoax.** It is by long odds the most challenging (and most fact-crammed) arraignment of fraud and frameup by our government and its allies to come between book covers since the Cold War began. Fortunately for its thesis, it reaches the public at the moment when the parade of recantation by government frameup artists is beginning to form. The proofs of its thesis are piling up independently.

The question is, not whether William Reuben's thesis can be proved in every detail. It is whether any or enough of us will have the courage to accept for ourselves and propound to others the hateful probability that our government has been engaged for ten years in a monstrous hoax, bringing hurt to thousands and death to two, destroying liberty and peace to preserve a rotting system and hold back progress.

Greenglass-Gold-Fuchs

The chief witness against the late Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was David Greenglass, Mrs. Rosenberg's brother. David testified that while an Army sergeant assigned to the Los Alamos atomic project in 1944-45, he gave atomic information to his sister and brother-in-law for transmission to an agent of the U.S.S.R. Greenglass' admissions of his own espionage activities were said by the government to have been forthcoming following his arrest on infomation provided by one Harry Gold, a self-styled Soviet spy for 15 years. The government said it trapped Gold through testimony given to the FBI in a British jail by Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, German-born British scientist employed during the war at Los Alamos and a self-confessed spy.

THE TESTIMONY: The story as it was testified to at the Rosenberg trial was that Gold visited Fuchs in Santa Fe, N.M., and then visited the Greenglasses at Albuquerque, where he identified himself with a portion of a Jell-O box to which the Greenglasses supplied a matching portion. Gold testified he got his part of the Jell-O box from one Yakovlev, a Soviet official in New York. Greenglass testified he got his portion from Julius Rosenberg.

The Atom Spy Hoax contends that:

- Gold never laid eyes on Greenglass until they met as witnesses against the Rosenbergs.
- Fuchs never laid eyes on Gold—and never said he did. Gold was cooperating with the FBI for almost a week before they ever talked to Fuchs; furthermore Gold had been questioned by the FBI and had appeared before a Grand Jury as early as 1947. J. Edgar Hoover lied when he said Gold was found out on the basis of a description given by Fuchs.
- Greenglass in fact never possessed any atomic information, but instead fell afoul of the FBI because he stole some uranium while assigned at Los Alamos. His wife and brother have stated that he stole uranium and threw it into the East River following a visit from the FBI in February, 1950. This was four months prior to his arrest in June, 1950, which resulted in the involvement of the Rosenbergs.

These are contentions so daring they have never been advanced in the defenses of any of the "atom spies."

Yet **The Atom Spy Hoax** offers far more documentary and conclusive evidence of this set of contentions than has ever been advanced against any of the individuals accused of atomic espionage, or of conspiracy or perjury in connection with it.

"Open Secret"

In mid-1946, following Winston Churchill's address at Fulton, Mo., launching the Cold War, the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran, then a reporter on the N.Y. **Post,** wrote a free-lance booklet **Open Secret.** It documented the steps then already taken to change public opinion from admiration to fear of the Soviet Union; and to construct in the public mind a concept of impending danger, rather than constructive development of atomic energy. Two significant references included by Miss Petran appear in Reuben's book:

- Cyrus Sulzberger, N.Y. **Times** correspondent, reported on March 21, 1946, that "the momentum of pro-Soviet feeling worked up during the war to support the Grand Alliance had continued too heavily after the armistice. This made it difficult for the [Truman] Administration to carry out the stiffer diplomatic policy required now. For this reason . . . a campaign was worked up to obtain a better psychological balance of public opinion to permit the Government to adopt a harder line."
- John J. O'Neill, science editor of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** commented (3/24/46): ". . . A farcical bit of diplomatic buffoonery is being staged to provide apparent justification for a military control group—a spy scare in Canada so ludicrous that it is a laugh to all but the most gullible."

ALFRED DEAN SLACK
Shown (left) with a sheriff

In the nine years intervening between Miss Petran's carefully documented exposé and the publication of **The Atom Spy Hoax** (publication date March 5, 1955, ninth anniversary of Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech), the public of the western world has never ceased to be under the pressure of this "psychological" war.

THE CANADIAN SCARE: And the Canadian "spy" scare, so correctly characterized by O'Neill, became the first great trumpery upon which all the rest has been rationalized, as Reuben's painstaking work so tellingly demonstrates. That this could have succeeded, despite its having been a total sham, and despite the testimony of every atomic scientist that there were no atomic secrets to be spied out, is of course a crushing indictment of the western "free press."

The Canadian cases—involving ultimately 26 people rounded up allegedly on the say-so of Igor Gouzenko, decamped Soviet embassy clerk—were first made public in the form of accusations by a Canadian Royal Commission in late February, 1946. It was later shown that they had been discussed by Canada's Prime Minister McKenzie King with President Truman and British Prime Minister Attlee as early as September, 1945.

THE FINAL SCORE: British-American-Canadian policy of atomic "monopoly" was announced by the White House in Nov., 1945. Shortly after Churchill's planned visit to the U.S. was announced. The Canadian A-spy yarn was then made public as the backdrop for Churchill's Fulton speech. U.S. newspapers quickly picked up the cue; a similar spy-ring was feared operating in the U.S. On the outcome of the Canadian cases, the U.S. press let its voice fall to a succession of buried paragraphs, so that even today few in the U.S. can recall any final and definite information on these "cornerstone" cases of the spy hunt.

The final score—as Reuben rounds it up in three engrossing chapters at the start of his book—was 16 freed, one being fined $500 for making a false statement in connection with a passport application for a Spanish War vet; nine imprisoned in Canada, none for anything at all to do with atomic espionage and all actually by self-entrapment into statements bringing them within the technical purview of the Officials Secrets Act, such as discussing political topics or formulae known to the world for 50 years.

The Nunn May Case

The tenth imprisoned was Allan Nunn May, arrested in Britain on March 4, the day before Churchill's Fulton address. May was eventually jailed for six years on his "confession" of having violated the Official Secrets Act. Actually May was never mentioned in the original Canadian cases, but was included in its general context after his guilty plea in England. The device was having his photo identified by one of the accused in Canada, who knew only his last name as a colleague in a scientific workers' association. Yet even despite his confession May never worked on the atom bomb and, according to Gen. Leslie Groves, chief of the U.S. wartime atomic project, could only have had a "general knowledge" of it—and that not obtained "through legitimate channels."

SELF-ENTRAPMENT: Thus, even with the inclusion of Allan Nunn May 3,000 miles away, the Canadian spy scare was a complete fake. And significantly, as Reuben's book points out for reference to future trials discussed in later chapters, the convictions obtained on any grounds at all resulted not from the original accusations, but from self-entrapment by those who "talked" to the authorities thinking they were helping themselves or their country. Those who protested innocence and stuck to this were quickly exculpated.

But the U.S. public never knew of the fakery of the Canadian arrests; hence it was easy for the Rankin Committee, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and eventually the Dept. of Justice and the FBI to drum up the peril of atomic espionage here.

The great explosion

Thus when in Sept. 1949 the news came that an atomic explosion had occurred in the Soviet Union (directly on schedule with most scientists' predictions of 1945) the stage was set for the orgy of spy-hunting. It ended with the killing of the Rosenbergs but included, on the way, the almost "complete obliteration" of America's democratic heritage. Within 12 months ". . . the Communist Eleven, Alger Hiss, Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev were convicted; Sen. McCarthy emerged a national figure; the Korean War began; Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell and five others were arrested as 'atom spies'; and, with the passage of the McCarran Act, anyone in America could be put behind the barbed wire of a detention camp for being, in the eyes of the FBI, a 'probable' espionage conspirator."

THE FUCHS ARREST: The heyday of Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz and Whittaker Chambers arrived; the age of the informer was in full flower. And, on Jan. 31, 1950, President Truman announced our nation's intention to manufacture the hydrogen bomb. Two days later the arrest was announced in London of Klaus Fuchs.

The details of Klaus Fuchs' confession have, of course, never been made public; but Reuben's research blasts sky-high at least one conclusion the public has been induced to draw from it—that Fuchs gave the FBI the name of Gold as a U.S. confederate.

Similarly, Reuben dissects the subsequent construction of a spy relationship between Gold and Greenglass. The discrepancies are manifold, but just one of them is sufficient again to blast the story sky-high:

The railway time-tables, carefully checked and verified for the period in which Gold was said to have visited the Greenglasses in Albuquerque, disclose Gold as a liar in his testimony as to when he left Albuquerque and when he arrived in New York (not by a mere matter of hours but by a full day). Thus, by his own story as presented by the government in the Rosenberg case, he could not possibly have obtained information from Greenglass on a Sunday afternoon and turned it over to a Soviet agent on a Tuesday evening in New York.

WHOLESALE HOAX: On top of this, the conflicting testimony of Gold and both Ruth and David Greenglass as to the purported passing of information, payment for it, etc., indicates that this too was a fabrication and a fairly slipshod one. It could not have stood up had the impoverished Rosenberg defense had the means of checking it—or indeed if the Rosenberg defense had had an inkling of the possibility of wholesale hoax by the government.

The Sobell Case

Many, many more aspects of this engrossing, disturbing book deserve much fuller treatment than can be given here. One is the 42-page final chapter on the Sobell Case. If the victimization of Morton Sobell has ever been a matter of doubt to anyone, Reuben's final chapter must remove that doubt from any reasonable mind.

ALFRED DEAN SLACK: There is, of course, a nationwide movement to win a new trial for Sobell, and Reuben's findings are of inestimable value to that campaign. But there is no campaign in behalf of another victim of the Atom Spy hoax: a Syracuse, N.Y. chemist named Alfred Dean Slack, now serving 15 years in federal prison under circumstances of unbelievable injustice, appalling neglect by counsel (in this case the noted Ray Jenkins of McCarthy hearing fame) and deprivation of constitutional and ordinary human rights at every turn.

Reuben's book brings the facts in the Slack case to light for the first time anywhere. If there is the will anywhere to launch a campaign for justice for Slack, the ammunition for it is here.

Parts of **The Atom Spy Hoax** (as on the Slack and Hiss cases) read like a well-constructed whodunit. Other parts will, and should, take most attentive reading. The thesis of the work challenges the basic premise of the Cold War, and comes to grips with the real question: not why but whether the "atom spies" spied for the U.S.S.R. The extent to which Reuben is correct indicates the extent of the job American progressives have before them.

THE ATOM SPY HOAX, by William A. Reuben. 510 pp; fully indexed and footnoted. Action Books, 165 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y. $3.75.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

• CAMBODIA, French Indo-China, where his proposal to replace the Cambodian army's French instructors with Americans was (NYHT, 3/1)

". . . like walking a tightrope. . . . The French [are] extremely sensitive. . . . Mr. Dulles had to make it appear that he was not driving out the French."

Behind the reluctance to hand over to the U.S. the Cambodian army's training, Robert Alden (NYT, 3/2) noted the "French fear of U.S. economic encroachments on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia." After conferring with U.S. Special Envoy Gen. Collins in S. Vietnam and with Washington's S.E. Asian representatives gathered in Manila, Dulles flew to Formosa to meet Chiang and U.S.-Formosa military chiefs "in a 'lay it on the line session'—one of the biggest war councils ever held" by the U.S. and Chiang (N.Y. World-Telegram, 3/1).

While Dulles sought to extend U.S. military and economic control over S.E. Asia in the name of "free world defense," in New Orleans 400 U.S. businessmen told an equal number of Latin American businessmen the "specific, hard-core terms" for U.S. foreign investment (NYHT, 3/1): "The Latin Americans . . . must be prepared to give guarantees of security and stability" against the popular ferment in their countries. Warned host Eric Johnston:

"Capital is coquettish—it has to be courted. It needs prospects of political and economic stability."

W. GERMANY SPLINTERED: W. Germany came through with its required paper guarantees when parliament's lower house passed the rearmament pact, after a debate punctuated by "hoots, howls, sharp attacks and scornful rejoinders" (NYT, 2/26). Within Chancellor Adenauer's coalition there was bitter conflict, with the Free Democrats and All-German Bloc accusing him of "fraudulent" assurances that Germany would regain the disputed Saar territory (retaining international status under the pact). The Social Democrats, noting that some 40 supplementary bills have to be passed before W. Germany is really rearmed, pledged to continue their fight for talks with the U.S.S.R. on reuniting Germany.

Mass protests against the pact, mounted in intensity for weeks and involving millions in almost every stratum of the country, reached a climax throughout W. Germany in the final days before the debate. In Munich 25,0000 marched behind banners proclaiming: "We don't want to die for dollars or rubles." Hundreds of police struggled in a snowstorm outside the Bonn parliament with anti-rearmament demonstrators shouting for Adenouer to "get out."

Adenauer's ace card to get the pact ratified—the assurance from "competent sources" that the U.S. and Britain would not continue to support France's claim to the Saar—only intensified Washington's dilemmas. The statement was expected to make it still harder for France's 21st government since the war, headed by Edgar Faure, to win approval of W. German rearmament.

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AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — IV

The black Union of French Africa

AN ASSASSIN DIES IN ATTEMPT TO KILL THE SULTAN OF MOROCCO
On Sept. 11, 1953, as the Sultan Sidi Mohammed Moulay Ben Arafa rode to prayers at Rabat, a knife-wielding house painter (l.) was killed by a guard as he sought to reach the newly-enthroned French favorite.

By W. E. B. DuBois

FRENCH AFRICA is a third larger than the continental United States and has 50 million inhabitants. It began with Algeria in 1830, which long counted as nothing. Then Bismarck handed over Tunis to placate the French after Sedan and in defiance of Italy's deep desire to have the site of ancient Carthage. Mussolini long made this his appeal for empires; he would shout at the end of a speech: "Et Tunisia?" The thousands would yell back: "A nos!"

The partition of Africa after the Berlin Congress of 1878 started France on her imperial path to ape the British. Her explorers swept over North Africa, seizing everything between the Nile and the Atlantic, except the British West Coast and Spanish Africa in the northwest. Madagascar on the southeast was thrown in later.

50 YEARS OF REVOLT: At first France planned to seize the Nile valley, and with Menelik of Ethiopia nearly accomplished this. But she was blocked by Kitchener at Fashoda and, declining war, turned to consolidating her African empire. North of the Atlas mountains, in Algeria and Tunis, she built a little France with a small resident group of Frenchmen, with plenty of cheap labor from the hills and well-paying crops.

The dark natives, Mohammedan "berbers" with ancient Negroid strains, and the Italians rebelled, and for 50 years have seethed from sullen hate to open revolt. Today in Tunis comes a fierce demand for autonomy, opposed by resident Frenchmen born in Tunis and ruling ten times their number through their political and economic influence. They are set to retain control of the police and foreign affairs while Tunisia is determined to have autonomy in or outside France.

Algeria is cut in two. On the coast the French are securely ensconced on the rich land, with fine houses and cheap servants and laborers. This in an integral part of France. Below the mountains are the mass of poor and sick peasants of the same stock as in Tunisia, beginning to writhe in poverty and revulsion. They furnish "bandits" for Tunisian unrest.

FANTASTIC HISTORY: Below the Atlas mountains lies the Sudan, Land of the Blacks, omitting the eastern part in the Nile Valley. These "islands of the West" lie between the desert, the sea and the valley of the Congo. These dark folk have been the site of civilizations and states rivaling Europe—the Ghana, the Mellestine, the Songhay, Haussa and Bornu Kanem; they fell beneath attack from the North, the slave trade to the west, and religious wars from south and east, until in the 19th century European imperialism seized them and they went mainly to France. They have suffered fierce and cruel exploitation, war and neglect. The novel **Batouala**, which won the Goncourt prize, tells of the exploitation; and the late black governor, Eboué, made all effort to help.

Up in northwest Africa lies Morocco, land of the Moors, a nation of mulattoes of Arabian descent (the tawny Moors and Black-a-Moors), from whom came the conquest of Spain and the splendid Moorish civilization. Here, after fantastic history involving expulsion from Spain and infiltration into the Sudan, came the revolt of the Riffs and the interference of France to take Morocco from Spain. She got it, and now wonders what she will or can do with it. The vast island of Madagascar on the southeast, with Negroid Malays, has rebelled and struggled and now pants in sullen unrest.

HOLLOW "PARTNERSHIP": All this teritory France has tried to unite in a French union with France as senior partner. In French law the people of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa are guaranteed "freedom of religion, press, speech and assembly." A recent labor code guarantees labor union freedom, the right to strike, collective bargaining, paid vacations and the 40-hour week.

But all this means little to illiterate and poverty-stricken millions. Less than a sixth of the children of school age are in school. In French West Africa a few get standard training and some training of high professional excellence.

There is political activity through chiefs in government pay and by popular assemblies. There are Sudanese deputies in the French parliament and a million registered voters in black French Africa among 21 million people. Thus in the "French Union" the blacks of French Africa have recognized status, but the Union has never really functioned.

THE VISE: The secret of French power here is her refusal to draw a color line. A Negro of ability can get recognition and preferment. He can, if he has the money, attend school in France. He can exploit his fellow Negroes as completely and cruelly as any white man if he has capital. Thus the black mass is drained of its natural leadership; the authority and ancient social customs of the tribe are replaced by Paris ideals and the black mass festers. Exceptions to this routine have appeared but social leadership is sorely needed.

The French Union is a fine paper scheme but that inner government of France, its closely-knit group of rich industrial monopolists, holds it like a vise and keeps France the center of international cartels and the apex of world capitalism in close conjunction with America. This explains the rise and fall of Mendes-France.

Black French Africa fronts Europe and borders the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Belgian Congo. When it arises, as arise it will, it may form a black bloc which will dominate North Africa.

Next week: Uganda—the Kidnapped King.

Belfrage's ghost walks at Kahn hearing

The following colloquy (as reported by Kahn; not exact words) took place between publisher Albert Kahn and committee counsel J. G. Sourwine at the exec. session of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee on Feb. 26:

Sourwine: Mr. Kahn, do you know a Mr. George Oakden?
Kahn: Don't recall any such person.
S: Do you know a Mr. Cedric Belfrage?
K: Yes, sure.
S: Is Cedric Belfrage a Communist?
K: To the best of my knowledge, no.
S: Do you know that Cedric Belfrage and George Oakden are one and the same person?
K: That is certainly news to me.
S: Did you know that Cedric Belfrage was deported in 1954?
K: Well, that is curious, because I saw him last week.
S: What?
K: I saw him last week—it may have been his ghost but it looked like him.
S: Where was this?
K: In the office of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, where he works.
(Confusion, whisperings; shuffling of documents; end of subject.)

PAPER SHEEP AND WATERMELON LANTERNS

Spring Festival in Peking

By Israel Epstein
Special to the Guardian

PEKING, CHINA

EVERYONE IN PEKING is eating **yuan hsiao,** steaming-hot spherical balls of rice-paste stuffed with every variety of sweetmeat that an ingenious housewife can invent. They represent the big full moon and the end of the Spring Festival—China's traditional lunar New Year—which lasts for two weeks and for many generations has been the country's most popular holiday.

Factories and offices were out for four days, schools for the entire period. Big new state department stories, the giant Tung An bazaar, small private shops—all were thronged with customers. Through crowded streets, between scaffolded building sites, trucks and horse-carts carried great loads of foodstuffs and other goods to satisfy the buyers. Thousands of sidewalk vendors sold gay lanterns of every conceivable size and form—fish-shaped, crab-shaped, made to resemble a luscious, sliced watermelon. Huge red globular ones, with gilt tassels, waved in front of Government buildings.

FOR ONE DIME: Above all, this is a time for the children. Going out with our two-year old Sonya (Sung-yah), it took us an hour to navigate through the other small-fry—with their parents and grandparents—in a tour of the square block on which our house opens. The pavements were lined with "New Year" stalls, with an unbelievable crush in front of each. One stall featured bamboo-framed paper sheep with heads nodding solemnly in the breeze—costing the equivalent of an American dime. Another sold paper theaters in which the actors—gay paper dolls—went through dances, courtships or battles when blown on or hung to catch the hot air current over a stove or radiator—also a dime. There were rattles, miniature drums, clay chickens that peck frantically when a string pendulum is swung,

A WHIRLIGIG AND A MASK—IT'S SPRING!
Two little girls play with their purchases

fuzzy monkeys of twisted wire and multi-colored fiber, artificial flowers of soft velvet—all two cents apiece. Sonya, after shouting and jumping her fill, suddenly began to drag heavy on my hand and I leaned over to find her blissfully asleep on her feet.

SPRING ALL OVER: Shops and peddlers processed their customers quickly, but there were queues at all hours, blocks long some of them, in front of theaters. We managed to get to a play called **The Bright Sky,** by the well-known dramatist Tsao Yu. It deals with a "pure scientist" in the formerly Rockefeller-subsidized Peking Union Medical College who took a long time to tumble to the fact that even bacteriology could be used for either healing or killing. It was appropriate to the occasion because it showed how the spring of a nation arouses spring in the heart of men.

We also had a day out of town, in a sleepy stone hamlet by a willow-lined canal, an old garrison post of the hereditary Manchu "bannermen" who once guarded the emperors. Now these tall, weather-beaten equivalents of London's beefeaters and their families are cooperative farmers. They have their own democratic village council, school and spotless clinic. The traditional red festival scrolls on either side of their doorways are no longer inscribed to placate or please the gods. They proclaim such sentiment as "Taiwan is our territory, which we shall recover!" and "To resist aggression is the only way to guard peace."

At the Foreign Languages Academy nearby, in handsome new buildings, we saw another play, in English—a dramatization of Albert Maltz's **The Happiest Man in the World.**

DIRECTION IS FORWARD: These are pictures of Peking as it celebrated its glad season, aware all along of the U.S. naval buildup in Taiwan strait, and of the brandishing of A- and H-bombs to send history into reverse gear. No one was blind but everyone was happy, because all that met the eye showed how life can move, and has moved, forward.

The lunar New Year, despite its ancient outward colorfulness, used to be a time when debts were mercilessly collected and poor men often committed suicide because they were unable to pay. Now the only money handed over is for the purchase of food, clothes and entertainment.

All through the festival, despite mild admonitions that the amount spent on them each year can build so many schools or so many ships, firecrackers boomed and sizzled, and fancy rockets filled each night's sky. The people here know their own strength. They know they can have their joy, build whatever is necessary, and defend both.

Matusow Case

(Continued from Page 1)

dealings with Matusow; look into his relationship with Roy Cohn; examine the record of all government payments made to Matusow; and question all Justice Dept. officials and FBI agents who had dealings with him.

COVERING UP FOR JOE: In continued hearings before the committee, Matusow stuck to his story that he is now telling the truth and is convinced that an investigation would show other government witnesses like Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson gave false testimony "like mine." He offered to take a lie-detector test, challenged the others to do likewise.

He told the committee that in 1952 he "received money to take a witness out of the country." Reminded that he might be open to prosecution for obstructing justice, he replied that so could Sen. Joseph McCarthy and J. B. Matthews, a one-time staff director for McCarthy's committee. The disappearing witness was Arvilla P. Bentley, former wife of Rep. Alvin Bentley (R-Mich.) A special committee investigating McCarthy's finances in 1952 wanted to look into a report that Mrs. Bentley contributed $7,000 to him. Matusow last week said she told him the sum was $70,000. He accompanied her to the Bahamas so she couldn't be subpenaed and said Matthews made the "arrangements" for the trip. Later he and the lady were married and divorced twice in the space of seven months.

"YOU MADE ME LIE": When Sen. Welker (R-Ida.) asked Matusow why he lied, he replied:

> "You forced me to. Committees like this and others. . . . You are the one who was responsible for my role as a witness, not I."

In response to another line of questioning, Matusow said he thinks the Communist Party is "not nearly as dangerous . . . as certain Congressional committees." Asked point-blank if he considered it a "real danger" to the nation's security, he answered:

"Frankly, no."

REPERCUSSIONS: Meanwhile hearings continued in New York before Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock on a motion for a new trial for 13 Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act, against whom Matusow has sworn he gave false testimony. Roy Cohn was expected to be called as a witness. Matusow next week is scheduled to appear in a Federal court in El Paso, Tex., in a move to secure a new trial for Clinton Jencks convicted on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-

HARVEY MATUSOW
Gave better than he took

Communist affidavit. Matusow insists he gave false testimony at that trial.

In Detroit six persons convicted under the Smith Act there appealed to House and Senate Judiciary Committees for an investigation of alleged perjury in their trial, citing a government witness who admitted on the stand that he lied. The appeal said:

> "In view of the recent disclosures by Matusow and others, it appears that the practice of preparing government informers for the testimony in cases involving communism is so enmeshed with the manufacture of evidence that only an outside independent agency . . . can make a proper and thorough investigation."

Recently two other government witnesses have sworn that they were "coerced" and "conditioned" into giving false testimony by attorneys for the Federal Communications Commission in a case charging Edward Lamb of Toledo, O., wealthy publisher and broadcaster, with past Communist associations.

Spy on your friends

The Ralston-Purina people seem determined to make spies out of our moppets. On their packages of the cereal Rice-Chex they are offering, for a quarter and a box top, a space-ranger periscope recommended for looking around corners to "spy on your friends" and an Outer Space Helmet from which you can see out, but no one can see you. This you can use to "spy on earth people." The solar-yellow helmet with its mirrored mask does make it a mite conspicuous for efficient spying purposes.

—**The Postage Stamp,** pub. by Globe Mail Agency (N.Y.), Jan., 1955.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

JUST TRYING TO GET THE FACTS, MAN. ARE YOU AN INTELLECTUAL? WHERE WERE YOU ON THE NIGHT OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT? HAVE YOU STOPPED EATING YOUR WIFE? HAVE YOU EVER TAKEN A HI-FI OATH, YOU ÆSOPIAN LIAR, YOU!
CAN YOU PROVE YOU ARE LOYAL, REGULAR? THAT YOU ARE NOT— THAT YOU NEVER HAVE BEEN?
METHINKS I THINK SO METHINKS I AM— WITCH IS PART OF TO BE WITCH IS AN IRREGULAR VERB—
HE IS! HE IS! A CONFESSION! SIGN HERE—
I'LL FILL IN ABOUT YOUR SPYING AND PERJURY AND ASSOCIATING AND BELONGING AND THINKING AND CONSPIRING TO TEACH AND—

Look out below!

Hats off to YOU

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On behalf of the families of Smith Act victims, let me express to all your readers our sincere thanks for their contributions in response to our Christmas appeal. I must confess that we in the Committee had some misgivings about our appeal this year, for we knew that everyone had been approached for many needy causes. But such is the understanding of the GUARDIAN readers that they knew as well as we that our need this year would be greater than ever, rather than less, with 13 families added. The total of contributions to date has been $7,082—almost a thousand dollars more than we received last year. A truly gratifying response, and contributions are still coming in!

Hattie F. Charney, for the Families of Smith Act Victims
576 6th Av., New York 11, N.Y.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY IS MARCH 8

The American woman's fight for equality

By Ione Kramer

ON March 8, 1908, working women paraded on New York's East Side for an end to sweatshops and child labor, and for the right to vote. That day has been an annual observation of the progress of women ever since the Socialist Congress in Copenhagen proclaimed it International Woman's Day in 1910.

Almost a century before that, when America's militant working women spoke of "equal rights" they meant economic equality, not yet achieved in 1955. The move for political rights came later, at the first women's rights convention anywhere, held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848 after thousands of women factory workers were involved in strikes in New England and Sarah Bagley led the fight for the 10-hour day in Massachusetts. In 1867 Susan B. Anthony's Women's Protective Assn. was recognized as part of the Natl. Labor Union, whose 1868 convention named a woman as asst. secy. and national organizer and advised women to persuade or force employers to "do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work."

BATTLE FOR RIGHTS: Adopting working women's tactics, hundreds of thousands of suffragettes picketed and petitioned to get the vote, by the constitutional amendment ratified in 1920. Few working men realize how the women's struggles brought benefits to all workers. The strike of 27,000 Lawrence textile workers, mostly women, in 1912 undoubtedly influenced passage of the first state minimum-wage law in Massachusetts that year.

In many countries the UN Commission on the Status of Women is still working on rights for women which the law has recognized here: the right to higher education, to hold office and serve on juries (still barred by five states), married women's rights to their own property and a job without a husband's consent, custody of children in divorce. In 16 countries women lack all political rights; 24 have granted them since the UN began in 1945. Last year saw ratification of the UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

UNREALITY: But in the U. S., women's political rights did not end their economic position as "second-class citizens," as Susan Anthony thought they would. Elated with their success on the vote, a segment of suffragettes sought to solve the remaining problems by the same methods. In 1924 they posed the "Equal Rights Amendment," which is still introduced in Congress yearly. It would guarantee women "equality" under Federal or state law, but would wipe out a century's gains in special protections. Terming it "dangerous," Mary Anderson, for 25 years director of the U. S. Labor Dept. Women's Bureau, has called its chief advocate the National Woman's Party "a front by the employers' associations that wanted to kill legislation for women.

All over the world women demonstrate for equal pay

This photo, taken in London, shows one of hundreds of meetings there

In 1955 the rights women have won are often not realities. Although 29 million women (and 27 million men) voted in 1952, appointment of a woman to high office is still rare enough for headlines. Women can claim two ambassadors, one cabinet member, 17 Congressional seats, five out of 307 Federal judgeships. In their book **Ladies of Courage**, Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok question whether all these appointments—for instance Health, Welfare & Education secy. Mrs. Hobby (not essentially a "woman's woman") and Ambassador to Italy Mrs. Luce (a "lone wolf")—represent an advancement for women as a whole.

COOLER TO UNIONS: Despite a deliberate post-war drive by employers to keep them out of industry, the percentage of women in the U. S. labor force has grown from 22% in 1940 to 33% today (it reached 34.7% in World War II). The Women's Bureau lists 19½ million workers in 1954, and 25 million (43% of all women of working age) who held jobs at some time during that year. It found a "striking increase" of women workers in heavy industry; half a million more since 1950, with substantial gains in the machinery, transportation equipment and fabricated metals industries. Women were ¼ of all factory employes in 1954, and 4/5 of these women were production workers. Many of these gains may be credited to local unions' fights for jobs for women.

Yet in 1953 the number of women in unions—3 million, or one in every seven women workers—was the same as in 1944, showing a percentage drop from 21.8 to 16.6% of total union membership. Among 213 unions polled by the Women's Bureau, there were 11 research directors, 10 secretaries or secy.-treasurers, and several educational directors who were women—a decline since 1946. Women are presidents of the AFL Actors & Artists Guild, the Intl. Airline Stewardesses & Stewards Assn., and the Louisiana and Maryland State Federations of Labor. No woman is on either the CIO or AFL exec. council; women did not figure in merger talks. Last month a Negro woman, Mrs. Marian Simmons, became head of United Packinghouse Workers' 10,000-member midwest district. Annual conferences on women workers by Packinghouse & United Electrical Workers (Ind.) are a step forward.

MAN-WOMAN GAP WIDENS: In the professions, the Women's Bureau found that in 1952 there was one woman in every: 15 doctors, 27 lawyers (50% increase in 10 years), 83 engineers (ninefold increase). Women enter medical schools with great difficulty, on what amounts to a quota of a few percent.

Always underpaid, women workers are getting poorer. Their median income, says the Women's Bureau, "has risen only slightly in the post-war period," as these medians show:

	1945	1952
Men	$1,811	$3,105
Women	901	1,147

In 1945 women got half of what men made; by 1952, it was just over a third (37%). The Women's Bureau budget for a single working woman with no dependents was $[illegible] in Arizona in Feb., 1953, but only a third of women workers earned over $2,000. Women are kept out of higher-paying jobs by discrimination, as well as being paid less for the same job. In a Colorado community the Bureau found men's wages in manufacturing $1.45 an hour; women doing similar work got 97½c.

For 2½ million Negro women workers, pay is even worse, as shown by these 1952 average earnings:

White men	$3,255
Negro men	1,784
White women	1,339
Negro women	517

Negro women made less than ⅓ of white women's earnings, and 1/6 of white men's. Double discrimination keeps them in the lowest-paid industries. In Memphis and Birmingham 75% of women laundry workers, mostly Negro, were paid less than 55c an hour.

HOKUM & PROFITS: When the mass media picture woman as a "beautiful animal" (a recent movie ad) or a "homebody," or psychologists like Dr. Marynia Farnham list her "deepest needs" as "a wish for dependence, inwardness, a wish to be protected and made secure, a strong desire for passivity and compliance," it boils down to one thing—profits. UE found more than $5 billion difference between men's and women's wages; Union Research estimates that if all women were paid the same as men for equal work, employers would pay out $10 billion more in wages each year.

"Equal pay for equal work" laws help; with many loopholes, they are now in effect in 13 states. Such laws, which would operate similarly to the present minimum-wage law, have been introduced into Congress since 1945. They are favored in both Republican and Democratic party platforms, and in AFL and CIO convention resolutions, but are not energetically pushed.

Unions can fight for women workers with shop programs like UE's: single rate scale and seniority list for both men and women; training and upgrading women to higher-paid jobs; an end to discriminatory hiring; advancing women in union leadership; organizing the 15 million unorganized women workers; day-care centers; maternity benefits. (The U. S. is the only advanced country without some form of maternity insurance; only in Rhode Island do expectant mothers collect "disability" insurance.) Unions can help educate their male members that as long as they permit lower rates on one out of three jobs, their own pay rates are undermined.

POWER FOR PEACE: Almost every women living either is or has been a worker. Vassar's president declares: "Women who do not work must have a greater interest in women who do." Many women's groups have stated, like the League of Women Voters:

> "The principle of equal pay must be safeguarded if women are to have equal opportunity for development."

Putting it into action, the 10 million members of the United Church Women, an affiliate of the Natl. Council of Churches; 800,000 in the Natl. Council of Negro Women; 8 million in the Natl. Council of Catholic Women; 122,000 in the League of Women Voters, and tens of thousands in many Jewish women's groups and various professional organizations—these could be a powerful force. Above all they need and seek world peace. By raising their voices for their own first-class citizenship, they can compel their profound desire for it to be heeded.

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WEST COAST Events of interest

Following are several events of interest to GUARDIAN readers on the West Coast:

San Francisco forum

FOOD PREPARED by the wives of San Francisco Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade will feature the victory dinner and forum Sunday March 13 at 5 p.m. at the California Labor School, 321 Divisadero St. At 8 p.m. a forum on Claude Bowers' **My Mission to Spain** will be held held under the chairmanship of Dr. Robert Colodny and Alvah Bessie, VALB members, with audience discussion. The forum will cost 50 cents. The events, under the sponsorship of the Labor School and the Spanish Refugee Appeal, will commemorate the 1937 victory of the International Brigade over Mussolini's Black Shirt legions at Guadalajara.

Abner Green in Seattle

ABNER GREEN, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be the guest speaker at a rally for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran law Saturday, March 12, 8 p.m. at the Finnish Hall, 1239 Washington St., Seattle. The rally will climax an afternoon conference for repeal of the law and defense of its victims, also at the Finnish Hall. A dinner at 6 p.m. ($1) will precede the evening rally. All interested persons are invited to attend.

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Robeson sings in L. A.

PAUL ROBESON will be presented in concert Sunday, March 13, at 8 p.m., at the First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles. The concert is being given by special request; the scheduled concert for the 11th has been sold out for weeks. Tickets may still be purchased by check or money order (or phone DU 9-1356) for $1.65, tax incl.

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Guardian Ball May 13

MEMO TO No. California Readers: Date of the GUARDIAN banquet—starring Les Pine and Dalton Trumbo—has been moved from the end of March to May 13 to avoid date conflicts with other worthwhile events. The affair will be held at the Merchandise Mart, San Francisco. If you turn in (to Malvina Reynolds, 1199 Spruce, Berkeley 7, Calif.) $10—whether from new subs, sustainers, or donations—you will be given dollar-for-dollar credit—in other words, a free dinner! (Of course, Malvina will accept your own money too.) Start now planning affairs, selling subs, getting donations—for a healthier GUARDIAN and a great banquet.

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So. California conference

THE Fifth Annual So. California Conference to Protect the Rights of Foreign Born Americans will be held Saturday, March 19, 9:30 a.m. to 6 p.m., at the Alexandria Hotel, 5th and Spring Sts., Los Angeles. Participating will be Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church, William Lawrence, president of Local 13, ILWU, and Abner Green. Delegates will come from Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and San Diego. A ball featuring Asian entertainment will follow the conference Saturday evening.

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CALENDAR

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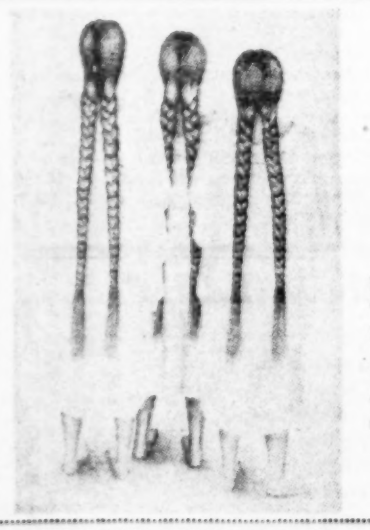

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3-DAY CIRCUS IN FOLEY SQ.

State investigators seek to stifle groups aiding persecuted people

By Eugene Gordon

THE N. Y. STATE Legislature in March, 1953, set up the Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies and Organizations under the chairmanship of State Sen. Bernard P. Tompkins, Queens Republican, with Sen. Charles T. Corey, Queens, as counsel. Its public-hearing inquiries into alleged rackets resulted in laws controlling some types of solicitations for funds. In March, 1954, the committee's life was extended to December, 1954. Gov. Dewey, meantime, requested it to investigate children's camps with "red" leanings. A resolution last Jan. 11 continued the committee to March 31, 1955. It is now seeking for a new lease on life.

Last month the committee's circus-like descent on New York City seemed intended to prove it deserved that lease. It summoned the Civil Rights Congress, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to hearings accompanied by a fanfare of sensational news headlines about "millions" of dollars raised and misused by "red groups."

WHERE IT WENT OFF: On the theory that its miscalculation in going after the Disabled American Veterans, Inc., and other non-left organizations last year had cost chairman Tompkins his political head—he was defeated for the Senate last November by Democrat James J. Crisona—the committee apparently intended to concentrate on "left-wing" groups as long as it could.

This view was borne out from the beginning of the committee's three-day hearing at the N. Y. County Courthouse beginning Feb. 23. Nassau Sen. Edward P. Larkin (R) had succeeded Tompkins in the chair and Tompkins had taken over Corey's job as counsel. The committee called author Dashiell Hammett, one-time CRC executive board member George Marshall and former Trenton-Six attorney O. John Rogge. Larkin and Tompkins kept their eyes for the most part on the press table. Tompkins twice, in the GUARDIAN reporter's hearing, asked **World Telegram** and **Times** reporters whether they had suggestions for questions to put to witnesses.

FRIENDLY JOHN: Larkin and Tompkins took turns at questioning Hammett and Marshall. The intent clearly was to prove Hammett a "figurehead" controlled by "the Communists." and to make Marshall admit that the CRC had no executive board but was dominated by "the Communists." "Friendly" witness Rogge declared he had come "reluctantly" to the conclusion that some form of remedial legislation applicable to fund raisers is desirable. Larkin coached Rogge to say "uncontrolled public clamor" was not the "proper function" of any organization. Rogge said that in his opinion "outside" organizations didn't help defendants get a fair trial.

New Jersey NAACP representative Clifford R. Moore agreed. Moore, a Negro, ran ahead of the committee's questions, often answering before asked that yes, CRC was "Communist"; no, CRC was not needed in the Trenton Six case; no, none of the "hundreds of thousands" raised by CRC was used for the Trenton Six; yes, the State of New Jersey would have given them a fair trial. Moore was refuted by James Imbrie of Lawrenceville, N. J., retired banker and one-time secretary of the Princeton Committee to Help the Trenton Six. He said that if the "outside" CRC hadn't come into the case the men might have been executed.

LARKIN'S JOKE: The committee's main fire was centered on CRC exec. secy. William L. Patterson. With one eye on the press, Larkin answered, when Patterson requested that his attorney be allowed to sit beside him, "I don't know of any case where the committee is supposed to supply a love seat." Nobody—including members of the press—laughed, so Larkin himself laughed. He later repeated the crack.

The committee's intention, however, was clearly to make ridicule of Patterson a part of its general arsenal against "this obstructionist" witness. It badgered him with the question—in various guises—of CRC books and records containing names and addresses of contributors.

ROBESON ON STAND: Abner Green refused to answer any questions about the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Neither would Mrs. Pauline Rcyce and Dr. Mark Straus give information on the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

Paul Robeson, asked how much money he raised for CRC, replied that as an artist he gave his talent to many organizations "struggling for the rights of my people." He said he didn't know how much money was raised but he hoped it was "a lot." He had "the fullest confidence in the people who are running CRC and so I don't ask them how they're spending the money I help raise."

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"Sure, higher salaries will attract better men in government, but then, what's going to happen to us?"

Just before closing its hearings the committee publicized a letter from Atty. Gen. Javits promising cooperation in drawing up any legislation aimed at these organizations. Larkin promised that such legislation would be enacted. Manhattan Dist. Atty. Frank S. Hogan two days later called for records of the hearings to scrutinize them for possible violations of existing state laws.

HOW THE CRC AND FOREIGN BORN GROUP OPERATE

Their business is not charity but conscience

By Elmer Bendiner

THE N. Y. STATE Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies, set up to probe big-money swindles in the field, has singled out three targets which are neither charities nor philanthropies.

They operate on so frayed a shoestring that professional philanthropists would scorn them. Their combined payrolls would scarcely equal the "incidental" expenses of a Madison Av. advertising agency publicizing a campaign against a particular disease.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is no longer in existence and the legislators could do no more than harass people once connected with it. The Civil Rights Congress and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are very much in business; they got the committee's chief attention.

CONSCIENCE—NOT CHARITY: CRC exec. secy. William Patterson works out of a crowded office up one flight of rickety stairs in an ancient brownstone at 6 E. 17th St. He told the GUARDIAN that the CRC was not a charity organization: "Our business is to arouse the conscience of the world."

No ledger book can show the number of consciences roused per dollar spent. The CRC is not primarily a legal aid society (though many times it does provide legal aid). It is a society for mass defense.

Patterson traced two cases. He said that Willie McGee went to his death in Mississippi on a trumped-up rape charge not because of any weakness in his legal defense but because not enough people had been stirred.

By contrast the Trenton Six were saved from death not so much by work within the courtroom as protest outside. If left solely to the lawyers, the judge and the jury, the six might well be dead, he said. The GUARDIAN stirred sentiment at home and overseas; the overseas press forced the case to the attention of the press at home. The CRC rallied people into action. There are other organizations to defend people in court, Patterson said, but none to defend before the people, often more potent than lawyers.

PATTERSON & MRS. ENGLISH
Her son was one of Trenton Six

2 STANDING CASES: Committee probers tried to balance cases against expenditures, Patterson said, but in fact there are two cases always on the CRC docket: racism and political suppression. There is no one "case" with which to link the publication of **We Charge Genocide,** for example, or Patterson's appearances before the UN.

When Pennsylvania prosecuted Communist Party leader Steve Nelson under a local anti-sedition statute, the CRC foresaw similar moves in other states and moved to combat them. Such wide-ranging campaigns take far more CRC money than courtroom defenses.

Here is the way the CRC dollars is divided: for mass campaigns, 58c; legal fees, 30c; administration, 12c. That last figure pays a staff of eight people with a total payroll of $500 a week. (Patterson draws $60 a week and frequently misses his paydays.) Rent is $100 a month; the phone bill about $200.

THE FOREIGN BORN: Headquarters of the other main target of the legislative probe—the American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born—is in a basement at 23 W. 26th St. At the moment the Committee is defending 60 American citizens against denaturalization proceedings, 340 non-citizens against deportation. Almost all are political cases, but there are more than 1,000 non-political cases in the committee mill. (In its 22 years most of the committee's work has been non-political.) These include people who want to become citizens, who need help and advice in bringing their families to the U. S. or in registering under the Walter-McCarran Act.

Above all there is the continuing "case" which distinguishes the Committee from a social service organization: the battle to help the individual by removing the threat that hangs over the whole community of foreign born. The Committee campaigns day in and day out for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law. It sends out a flood of material seeking, like the CRC, to rouse the conscience of the nation on the rights of the foreign born and their relation to the rights of all Americans.

18,000 A YEAR HELPED: From its origin in 1933 the Committee has raised about $500,000. The number of persons helped by the Committee up to 1952 averaged 18,000 a year. The Committee won praise not only from those it aided but from the government and from community leaders.

Since passage of the Walter-McCarran Act the Committee's work has shifted. It is now not so easy to help people to citizenship; if the applicant tells the Immigration Service that the Committee assisted him with the forms it would be "grounds" to deny him his papers. The Committee now has the new job of protecting itself. Two years ago the Subversive Activities Control Board put the Committee on its agenda. No hearing has yet been held.

FACTS AND FIGURES: Committee exec. secy. Abner Green told the GUARDIAN he believes the state legislative probe was dictated in part by the government's frantic quest for evidence against the Committee before the SACB. In at least one confirmed instance Immigration Service representatives tried to persuade a man up for deportation to testify against the Committee by promising him his citizenship. He offered to testify for the Committee instead.

Green gets $65 a week. The total payroll last year was $8,490. Six people worked for two months of the year, two for eight months. The Committee raised $23,254.59 and spent $27,023.39. The rousing of consciences by literature (printing and mailing) and conferences cost $7,901; defense of deportees, $1,097 and self-defense of the Committee, $3,036.

In giving the American people far more than its money's worth the Committee thinks of itself in the terms that President Roosevelt thought of it. In 1940 he wrote to the Committee:

"It (the Committee) has undertaken the task of assuring fair play to the foreign born in the U. S. Every American wishes it success. . . . If reason is to prevail against intolerance, we must always be on guard."

Balance sheet

This is the balance sheet of the Civil Rights Congress on the Trenton Case:

Contributions earmarked for the Trenton Six campaign: 1949, $15,650.67; 1950, $2,044.86; 1951, $639. Total: $18,334.53.

CRC expenditures on the campaign: 1949, $15,145.10; 1950, $2,887.57; 1951, $1,650.18. Total: $19,682.85.

Expenditures were itemized: legal fees, payroll, $3,458; printing, postage, mailing, $8,963.72.

Legislative probers claimed far greater amounts were collected and charged that sums turned over by the N. Y. chapter were not recorded by the national office. CRC spokesmen said that funds turned over by chapters were listed by the national office as contributions. The committee was thus counting the same money twice, first as money collected by the N. Y. chapter and again as recorded in the national office records as a contribution. This would account also for the fact that such transfers of funds were not so recorded though all money was accounted for.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) presents four psychological films, Mar. 4-6: "SHYNESS" and "THE FEELING OF REJECTION," by the Canadian Natl. Film Board, McGraw-Hill's "WHO'S BOSS (in a marriage)?" and "ROOTS OF HAPPINESS," a lyrical film about family life. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: French series beginning with "LA BELLE EQUIPE" (They Were Five).

PRESS BAZAAR—Beautiful handwork, artcraft, useful mdse. Bargains Galore. Delicious Polish meals. Film program. Sat. & Sun., March 12 & 13. Doors open 1 p.m. Polonia Club, 218 Second Av. (near 14th St.)

The distinguisher Churchman, The **REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH**, will speak at a meeting under the auspices of the No. Bronx Committee of American-Soviet Friendship on Sat. evening, Mar. 5, 8:30 p.m., at 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Two new color films will be shown. Adm. 50c.

SUNDAY, MAR. 6, 8:15 P.M. Hear Rev. John Darr, a leading crusader for peace here and abroad in his latest report: "The New Look in the World Situation." ALP, 220 W. 80th St. Contrib. 50c.

SUNDAY FORUM, March 6, 8 p.m. "THE SOCIAL INEQUALITY OF WOMEN: Its Effects on Men, Women and Social Progress," with Dr. Joseph B. Furst, Chairman: Rosalie Berry. In observance of International Women's Day. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

SQUARE & FOLK DANCE. Sun., Mar. 6, 8:45 p.m., at the Teachers Center, 206 W. 15th St. Caller: Hopalong Gene. Auspices: Vets for Peace. Contribution: $1.

SONGS AND DANCES OF MEXICANS IN SOUTHWEST, PERU, HAITI, PUERTO RICO. Fri., Mar. 18, 8 p.m., at Hotel Woodstock, a program featuring Jenny Wells Vincent's first N.Y. appearance. Elliot Sullivan, of Broadway and Hollywood, reads true account of Guatamalan escapee. Also J. Davila Samprit, Puerto Rican poet; Betty Millard, Kumar Goshal. Adm. $1. Auspices: Latin America Today.

SPRING LECTURE SERIES. The American Socialist is sponsoring a series of lectures to cover important aspects of the American scene. The first topic in series, "History of American Socialism," in 2 lectures, Fri., March 11, 8:15 p.m. Fri., March 18, 8:15 p.m., at 303 Broadway (nr. 17th St.) Cont. 50c.

TOPICAL THEATRE: Exciting One-Act Plays: featuring Premiere performance "Fire In His Bosom," about young Frederick Douglass; also "Green Thumb" and "Battle for 3B"—Sat. & Sun., Mar. 5-6, 12-13, 8:30 p.m. 77 5th Av. (2nd fl.) Vol. Contrib.

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N. Y. MURDER

3d youth held insane, goes to Dannemora

THE LAST WORD was written in the tragedy of the three Puerto Rican youths when, on Feb. 22, Gov. Harriman ordered that Pedro Antonio Rios, 22, be taken from Sing Sing's death house to the Dannemora State Hospital for Insane Convicts.

If at any time he should be found sane he would still face the electric chair. The only hope seemed to lie in seeking a new trial on the grounds that Rios is insane now and he might have been insane at the time of his trial in March, 1954, rendering it invalid. Whether or not funds could be found for such legal steps was not known.

The three were convicted of murder in a trial atmosphere charged with hysteria.

Rent action

IN THE face of legislative moves to weaken rent control and open the way for immediate rent raises throughout the state, the American Labor Party last week called for letters and messages to Sen. majority leader Walter Mahoney and Assembly majority leader Joseph Carlino urging them to resist such moves, and to Gov. Harriman demanding a veto for any bill with weakened controls.

AT THE GREENWICH MEWS

Juno, played by Virginia Downing, comforts her tortured son Johnny (Edmund Williams) in Sean O'Casey's **Juno and the Paycock**, now being performed at the Mews, 141 W. 13th St., Manhattan. The cast, directed by Frank Silvera, includes Howard Wierum, Albert M. Ottenheimer, Miriam Craig, Anne Fielding and Helen Martin. The production is under the supervision of Lily Turner. The play is being given every evening, except Mondays and Fridays, at 8:40 p.m. Special matinees are given every Saturday at 2:40 p.m.; students are especially invited. **Juno and the Paycock** is the ninth play presented by the Greenwich Mews group in its five years of non-profit, inter-racial theater activities. Admission is by voluntary contribution. Reservations and theater parties may be arranged by calling TR 3-4810.

REPORT ON ALBANY

N. Y. anti-discrimination law: 10 years old — and toothless

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

AFTER nearly ten years, New York State's Law Against Discrimination remains toothless. The 1954 annual report just issued by the State Commission Against Discrimination shows:

• From July 1, 1945, when the law took effect, to Dec. 31, 1954, only 2,946 complaints were filed. The major reason for this unbelievably small number is that only the individual directly aggrieved may file a complaint—which bars the NAACP, American Jewish Congress, unions, veterans and other groups from filing them in behalf of the members. Clearly, many individuals fear to file complaints because—though the law prohibits it—employers may penalize them. Bills to permit any interested person or organization to file complaints are killed annually.

• Of 2,779 complaints of job discrimination, 668 were "adjusted after conference and conciliation"; 1,298 were dismissed because the Commission found "no probable cause," 184 because it "lacked jurisdiction"; 62 were "withdrawn"; in 561 cases, the Commission found "no probable cause as to the specific complaint but other discriminatory practices or policies were found and eliminated."

• Of the 2,779 complaints disposed of over a ten-year period, **only six resulted in a formal hearing**—and two of these "were adjusted by conciliation prior to the date set for hearing."

DISCREET & GENTLE: In 1952, the law was amended to cover discrimination in places of public accommodation, resort and amusement (hotels, restaurants, beauty and barber shops, retail stores, travel agencies). In nearly three years, only 82 complaints were filed under this amendment. Of these, 31 were "adjusted after conference and conciliation"; 28 were dismissed because of "no probable cause," five for "lack of jurisdiction"; and in three cases, "the specific complaint was dismissed but other discriminatory policies or practices were found and eliminated." **Only two resulted in a formal hearing**—and since these involved the same public place, a single hearing took place, the only one held in almost three years since the amendment took effect.

The law itself—and the Commission—stress investigation and conciliation while shying away from strict enforcement. The guiding idea seems to be that big business will somehow cease its continuing and widespread discriminatory practices if the complaints are handled discreetly, gently and without publicity.

A glimpse into SCAD's problems was offered by a survey of conditions in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York by the Jewish Labor Committee, showing that "anti-Semitism in employment was more widespread than it had realized" (N. Y. **Times**, 2/28). The committee's report urged "strengthening and extension of the powers" of SCAD, authorizing it to investigate concerns "without waiting for individual complaints as now required by law."

DOLLARS BLOSSOM ON THE MAGNOLIA TREES

How the runaway bosses hold a club over unions in northeastern cities

MAYOR H. C. RHODES of Pelahatchie, Miss., recently wrote to northern manufacturers inviting them south. Promising that Pelahatchie would exempt them from taxes for 99 years and build their plant, he clinched his sales talk by offering Pelahatchie workmen at bargain rates:

"Then our wonderful labor, 98% native born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates 6c to 49c below other Southern states, and from 50c to 95c below Northern states. You will also get a much higher average man production, some plants even getting double what they got in their Northern plants. This labor is truly American, not inflicted [sic] with the 'Something for Nothing' idea and works together joyously with Management for the success of both."

"DON'T WANT UNIONS": A spokesman for the S. Carolina Development Board told a reporter for the **Wall St. Journal:**

"We don't encourage any company to come into the state if it's going to bring a union with it. Our people don't want unions. They're individualistic and don't want outsiders telling them what to do."

The South draws the line at only one kind of "outsider." Its wooing has given Northern manufacturers a handle with which to beat down standards. The ultimatum that a plant will leave town unless—brings concessions from labor and the community much as a gun does in a hold-up. The Otis Elevator Co., for example, has operated in Yonkers for 101 years but on Jan. 16 said it must cut costs or move. At the same time the company admitted it was operating profitably and was not "on the verge of becoming unprofitable."

THE OTIS PLAN: The company never made public its precise demands, but company pres. Leroy A. Petersen on Jan. 23 proposed to the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers a revision in the wage incentive plan and elimination of bonus provisions which could mean a wage-cut of $15-$25 a week for production workers.

When the referendum was held for the union membership on Feb. 21, the terms were still unclear; but production workers voted 767-346, office workers 237-37, to accept. After the vote the company and the union issued a joint statement that the agreement would mean "no reduction in rates of pay, salaries, pension or welfare benefits" and the wage incentive system would be continued. The terms are still not released but union leaders say they deal with seniority, bonuses and standards. A concession on work standards held the threat of a speed-up.

Yonkers officials, troubled by the recent flight of the Alexander Smith Carpet Co. from their city, announced that "something can be done" about the Otis Co.'s tax bill of $3,008,150 for 1955. (Yonkers pleaded poverty when its school system was recently exposed as the shabbiest in the state.) The company recently won a rebate of $91,000 on its 1947-51 tax bill and is seeking a rebate on its 1952-54 taxes.

NEW MEXICO AND OLD

Jenny Wells Vincent will come from New Mexico to sing the folksongs of Mexico and the Southwest at Latin America Today's *fourth anniversary celebration March 18 at the Hotel Woodstock, 127 W. 43d St. The fiesta will also hear editor Betty Millard just back from a tour of the U. S. and Mexico. Elliot Sullivan will read a first-hand account by a Guatemalan who escaped his country's terror.*

TARRYTOWN TENSION: A similar but smaller-scale ultimatum was issued to nearby Tarrytown when the Rhythm Hat Co. told its 120 employes it would close shop in April. Nathaniel Spector, manager of the Millinery Workers Joint Board, part of the AFL United Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers, charged a plot to shift Rhythm's business to the non-union Conway Hats Co. at Conway, N.C.

As tension grew in the plant, the company shut down and locked its workers out. Last week state mediators rushed to Tarrytown and persuaded both sides to agree on a new contract, providing a 5c hourly wage increase but reducing working hours from 40 to 35 and banning all strikes and lockouts. The contract runs for one year. Company pres. David Bader said the new contract would enable him to operate at a profit and he would stay.

APPLAUSE AND GROANS: The hatters meanwhile signed a three-year compact with the Eastern Women's Headwear Assn. which union officials called "a new high in labor-management co-operation." The "high" consisted of abandoning demands for an increased pension fund in favor of a $1,500,000 war chest with which to persuade more women to buy more hats.

Union officials put the matter before the rank and file at a meeting at the Hotel Diplomat on Feb. 23, announcing at the same time that a $5 weekly raise and 5% weekly boost for piecework would not be effective until January. The N.Y. **Times** (2/24) reported: "The audience groaned audibly and many rose to leave the hall. Union officials stemmed the exodus and reminded the members that the union had 'moved historically with vision and had won the applause of labor, press and the general public for this.'"

The members were told that the employers were in need of a "Marshall Plan"; they voted approval "unanimously but without enthusiasm" for $1,500,000 for hat propaganda instead of pensions. Enthusiasm came from the N.Y. **Daily News,** in an editorial headed: "We Doff Our Bonnets, Gents." Summing up the situations of Otis and the hat industry, it said: "Very intelligent and welcome worker-boss understanding in both these cases, we'd say."

HOW TO SOLVE IT: Elsewhere on the runaway front, Amsterdam, N. Y., already hit by unemployment, faced acute crisis as the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co. prepared to move to Connecticut. In Brooklyn, United Electrical Workers pickets still patrolled the gates of the American Safety Razor Co., demanding pensions and severance pay for its workers idled in the company's move to Staunton, Va.

Legislators, evolving new plans to make New York "attractive" to industrialists, paid little attention to insistent demands from unions throughout the country for a national $1.25-an-hour minimum wage that would leave employers no place to run to.

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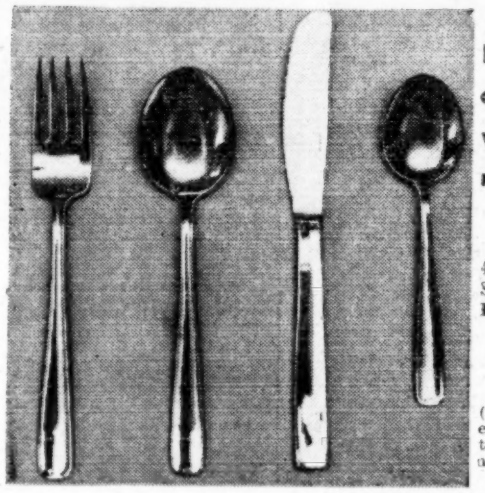

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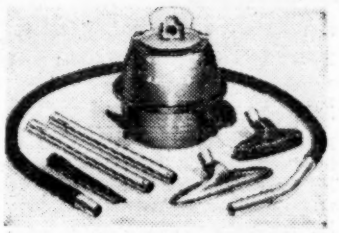

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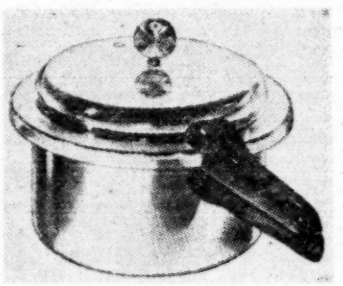

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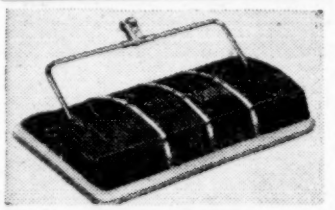

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the SPECTATOR

Assassins of the theater

"THE WRITING OF PLAYS," said Bernard Shaw, "is a great matter, forming as it does the minds and affections of men in such sort that whatsoever they see done in show on the stage, they will presently be doing in earnest in the world. . . ."

If that is true of the effect of Maxwell Anderson's **The Bad Seed** on the multitudes flocking to see it, it is a depressing thought. Anderson has succeeded in reducing the playwright's art to a mouthpiece for the anti-"eggheads" who, supported by incalculable wealth, possess powers of absolute destruction.

The Bad Seed is about a bewitching tot of our time who has murdered one person, and is about to murder two more. Her mother, Christina, married to a Pentagon officer away on a mission, is a noted "criminologist's" daughter but apparently hasn't read a line of child-guidance literature; despite the portents in her offspring, she has never sought the help of the husband she adores, the stepfather she reveres, or even a psychiatrist. Confronted with the evidence of her daughter's murder of a classmate, Christine—through the intervention of a "woman who once knew Freud"—is persuaded that a dream which has plagued her since childhood points to some genetic sin of her own.

Carrefour, Paris

"You can be proud. You have the biggest inferiority complex in the world."

NEVER MIND, OPERATOR: She compels her stepfather to reveal that she is the daughter of a notorious but glamorous murderess. In her one normal action throughout this mishmash she rushes to the telephone to summon her husband—but then for no explained reason cancels the call. We are asked to assume that a mother finding her child is a murderess would "naturally" not wish to trouble her husband, who loves her, with this knowledge. Egged on by her "dream" and psychoanalytic jargon, Christine "protects" her child from the Law by feeding her an overdose of sleeping pills, then kills herself. But neighbors are roused by the suicide shot and the child is saved to continue her assassin's career.

"You are fortunate," says the lady who once knew Freud to the bereaved husband, "you have this angel child to comfort you." None of the students of crime and psychology in the play suspects that the child is not the angel she appears. So the curtain falls, to the applause of an audience bunkoed by performances that conceal Broadway's poverty of heart and mind.

ANTI-HUMANIST: That this is a political play seems to have escaped its reviewers, but will be recognized by anyone who ever spoke a word for women's equality, liberation of the mind, or the elevation of family life to a community of people with the capacity for exchanging thought. The bad seed bears fruit: the idea that the only way out is to compound murder by more murder and suicide is thrust upon the audience by as calculating an army of anti-humanists as ever attacked any people.

May we say that Mr. Anderson **meant** no such thing? What, then, did he mean? Shaw wrote: "No great writer uses his skill to conceal his meaning." Anderson's stage "criminologist" is explicit. "Genetic murderers" are to be regarded as sick, incurable: "They are blind, and you cannot teach the blind to see." Worse than nonsense, all of it; and there is no truth in any of it. Are we to tell mothers to slay their young if they are born blind, and to kill themselves because Grandmother was blind?

A LACK OF LEARNING: This propaganda rejects reason. It tosses off notions of pre-destination, original sin, self-negation as though they were sodapop, not hemlock. When a writer of Anderson's commercial bulk rejects learning, at the threshold of an era of limitless new human achievement—if men and women but will it—it is not merely an artistic concern. Anderson's assumptions of the individual's singularity and damnation will be welcomed by know-nothings with a stake in the purely destructive power of what Shaw called the American "volcanic political instinct."

To the capable cast, my hope is that soon unspoiled, humane plays will reappear, to save their souls and ours. But the old formula, "Keep it 'common,' make it sound un-common, equals profit," still operates. Anderson has simply served up in a flattened version of Eliot's high-hat a dish of Spillane without the overt filth. I do not demand gigantic rewards every time I go to the theater. Merely the ghost of Ibsen's social passion, the shadow of Shaw's nobility, the echo of Shakespeare's music; a bit of sense, a dash of wit, an inflection of love. An end to bloody bores like **The Bad Seed.**

Nan Pendrell

From the perimeter

VANCOUVER, B. C.

Have been reading the latest GUARDIAN, Feb. 7, and think perhaps men like Belfrage are needed in the U. S. A. even more than in his native land at this moment. But looking at the storm center from away off here on the perimeter, we take heart from the belief, based on history, that a bad situation will again produce the men and women capable of dealing with it.

Walter Wiggins